

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 LONDON 09125

EXDIS

SECSTATE FROM LOW

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR RH
SUBJECT: REPORT OF THE RHODESIA CONSULTATIVE GROUP

THIS MESSAGE CONTAINS THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP'S REPORT
TO DR. OWEN FOLLOWING COMPLETION OF ITS FIRST ROUND
OF DISCUSSIONS. IT WAS PREPARED BY GRAHAM AND HIS
ASSISTANTS IN FULL CONSULTATION WITH ME.

RHODESIA: REPORT BY THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONSULTATIVE
GROUP FOR THE PERIOD 16 MAY TO 1 JUNE 1977

INTRODUCTION

1. WHEN THE US SECRETARY OF STATE SZ BRITISH
FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY MET ON 6 MAY IN
LONDON THEY AGREED TO PURSUE THEIR CONSULTATIONS WITH
THE VARIOUS PARTIES TO THE RHODESIA PROBLEMS, BY MEANS OF
A JOINT CONSULTATIVE GROUP. THE GROUP WAS TO MEET THE
PARTIES SEPARATELY, TO AIM TO ENGAGE THEM IN DETAILED
DISCUSSION OF A CONSTITUTION, AND TO GO ON FROM THERE TO
DISCUSS TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. IT WAS AGREED THAT
THE OPERATION SHOULD BE CONDUCTED JOINTLY, BUT THAT IF
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ANY PARTY EXPRESSED A PREFERENCE TO TREAT WITH THE GROUP
BY SEEING THE BRITISH AND US SIDES SEPARATELY, WE SHOULD
NOT OBJECT, AT ANY RATE AT THIS STAGE.

2. FOLLOWING THE DECISION OF 6 MAY, AMBASSADOR LOW, US
AMBASSADOR AT LUSAKA, AND MR. GRAHAM, DEPUTY UNDER-
SECRETARY IN THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE, WERE

APPOINTED TO LEAD THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP. THE GROUP STARTED WORK ON 16 MAY.

THE ATTITUDES OF THE PARTIES

3. A PROGRAM OF THE GROUP'S ACTIVITIES IS ATTACHED AT ANNEX A. (NOT FORWARDED THIS TELEGRAM.)

4. ANC (SITHOLE). THE FIRST MEETING WAS WITH DR. SITHOLE (ANC SITHOLE) IN LONDON ON 16 MAY, THE US GOVT. BEING REPRESENTED BY MR. FRIEDMAN OF THE US EMBASSY IN LONDON. DR. SITHOLE TOOK NOTE OF THE AREAS ON WHICH THE GROUP WISHED TO HEAR HIS VIEWS, AND SAID HE WOULD CONSULT HIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND LET US HAVE THEIR CONSIDERED VIEWS IN DUE COURSE. HE WAS EVASIVE ABOUT ARRANGING A FURTHER MEETING, BUT SINCE THEN A MEETING ON 8 JUNE, AGAIN IN LONDON, HAS BEEN AGREED. MR. STEEL TOOK MR. ZAMCHIYA, DR. SITHOLE'S LEGAL ADVISER, THROUGH THE PROGRESS OF THE CONSULTATIONS AND DESCRIBED THEIR SCOPE AND THE NEED FOR CERTAIN REASSURANCES FOR THE WHITE PQIZATION AS A MAKE WEIGHT FOR OBTAINING UNIVERSAL ADULZ SUFSLAGE.

5. UANC. THE GROUP MET A DELEGATION OF THE UANC, LED BY BI ROQWMUZOREWA, ON 20 AND 21 MAY IN GABERONE. AT THE FIRST MEETING THE NATURE OF THE GROUP'S WORK WAS EXPLAINED AND THE AREAS IN WHICH THEIR VIEWS WERE REQUIRED, SET OUT. AT THE SECOND MEETING THE UANC RESPONDED IN GENERAL, LAYMAN'S TERMS, INDICATING A DESIRE FOR A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT, WITH A ONE-CHAMBER CONFIDENTIAL

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LEGISLATURE ELECTED ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL ADULT

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SUFFRAGE, AND AN EXECUTIVE PRESIDENCY. THEY ACCEPTED THE NEED FOR A BILL OF RIGHTS, SUBJECT TO STUDYING ITS DETAILED PROVISIONS, AND AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, BUT WERE INCLINED TO RESIST ANY GENERAL UNDERTAKING TO ACCEPT THE OBLIGATION TO MEET EXISTING LIABILITIES ESPECIALLY PENSIONS. THEY OPPOSED THE RESERVATION OF SEATS FOR ANY MINORITY AND DECLARED THAT THE GUERRILLA FORCES SHOULD FORM THE BASIS OF ZIMBABWE'S NATIONAL ARMY. IN DISCUSSION HOWEVER THEY MOVED SOME WAY ON A NUMBER OF POINTS AND FOR THE MOST PART IT SEEMED THAT THEY WERE ADDRESSING MANY OF THE PROBLEMS FOR THE FIRST TIME. AT SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS IN LUSAKA ON 31 MAY AND 1 JUNE WITH THE UANC'S LAWYERS, QUITE A BIT OF PROGRESS WAS MADE SUFFICIENT TO ENABLE THE PRELIMINARY DRAFTING OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS: IN PARTICULAR THEY AGREED TO LOOK AT SOME SPECIALLY ELECTED RESERVED SEATS FOR THE WHITES, FOR A LIMITED PERIOD OF TIME, AND SOME REASONABLE, NON-RACIAL BLOCKING MECHANISM FOR THE SENSITIVE AREAS OF THE CONSTITUTION AS PRAGMATIC, CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, DESIGNED TO HELP US TO WIN UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE FROM MR. SMITH.

6. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. MR. GRAHAM MET MR. NKOMO IN LONDON ON 6 MAY, IN THE LATTER'S ZAPU CAPACITY, AND DID CONFIDENTIAL

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NOT EMBARK, IN ANY DETAIL, ON THE DISCUSSION OF CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS. MR. NKOMO REACTED STRONGLY AGAINST US INVOLVEMENT IN ANY FORMAL WAY AND AGAINST THE PROPOSED METHOD OF BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS, BUT AGREED TO MEET THE BRITISH MEMBERS OF THE GROUP IN DUE COURSE.

7. SEVERAL ATTEMPTS TO ARRANGE A MEETING IN AFRICA WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WERE MADE AND FINALLY A MEETING TOOK PLACE IN DAR ES SALAAM ON 24 MAY WITH MESSRS MSIKA, MUZENDA, MAZIMBAMUTO AND MUDENDA, BUT WITH NO US REPRESENTATIVE PRESENT. (THE US AMBASSADOR IN DAR ES SALAAM SAW THE PF REPRESENTATIVES SEPARATELY LATER.) MR. MUGABE WHO HAD PROPOSED THE TIME AND THE PLACE FAILED TO ARRIVE. THE FRONT'S OBJECTIONS TO THE METHOD OF INDIVIDUAL CONSULTATION WERE REPEATED, AS WAS THEIR INSISTENCE THAT

THE ONLY TWO PARTIES CONCERNED WERE BRITAIN AND THE FRONT. NEVERTHELESS THEY SHOWED INTEREST IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS AND AGREED TO A FURTHER MEETING IN LUSAKA IN THE WEEK BEGINNING 29 MAY.

8. AS FOR MR. MUGABE, SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH THE BRITISH AND US WERE FINALLY ARRANGED IN MAPUTO ON 29 MAY. HE WAS ATTENDED BY THREE MEMBERS OF ZANU. ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT SPEAKING FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, MR. MUGABE DID NOT ATTEMPT TO AVOID DISCUSSION OF CONSTITUTIONAL OR TRANSITIONAL MATTERS. HE REPEATED THE POINT THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND BRITAIN WERE THE ONLY TWO PARTIES BUT DID NOT RAISE THE MATTER OF CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHERS. HE DECLARED HIS ADHERENCE TO A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF STATE, WITH UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE, AND HIS HOPE THAT WHITE RHODESIANS WOULD REMAIN AND PLAY A PART IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE, WITHOUT SPECIAL PRIVILEGES. HE INSISTED HOWEVER THAT POWER SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, WHOSE FORCES SHOULD REPLACE COMPLETELY THOSE OF THE REGIME IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD AND THEREAFTER (HE AGREED, WHEN IT WAS PUT TO HIM, TO A SUGGESTION

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THAT THEY MUST ACCEPT THE ORDERS OF THE ELECTED GOVERNMENT EVEN IF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WERE NOT SUCCESSFUL IN THE ELECTIONS). HE CONCLUDED THAT HE WOULD CONSULT HIS COLLEAGUES ON THE ISSUES RAISED AND WOULD SEE THE GROUP AGAIN PERHAPS TOWARDS THE END OF JUNE (HE WAS WARY OF GIVING ANY INDICATION OF HIS MOVEMENTS).

9. FINALLY A MEETING WAS HELD IN LUSAKA ON 1 JUNE WITH MR. NKOMO, SUPPORTED BY SEVERAL MEMBERS OF ZAPU AND TWO MEMBERS OF ZANU. SURPRISINGLY HE AGREED TO MR. LOW BEING PRESENT. MR. NKOMO REPEATED THE FRONT'S OPPOSITION TO FORMAL US INVOLVEMENT, WHILE WELCOMING US INFLUENCE AND SUPPORT. HE EXPRESSED EXTREME SUSPICION OF THE METHOD OF BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS DECLARING THAT THE FRONT COULD NOT ACCEPT A SITUATION IN WHICH BRITAIN WOULD PRODUCE A CONSTITUTION WHICH SHE WOULD CHARACTERIZE AS REFLECTING THE OPINION OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE. THERE SHOULD BE AN OPEN CONFERENCE AND THE PARTIES ATTENDING IT SHOULD BE THOSE ENGAGED IN THE WAR, I.E., BRITAIN, THE FRONT AND MR. SMITH (THOUGH THE LATTER BECAUSE HE HAD NO LEGAL EXISTENCE SHOULD BE PART OF THE BRITISH DELEGATION). HE REPEATED HIS DESIRE FOR A DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT, UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE, THE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS THROUGH A

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PROTECTED AND JUSTICIALE BILL OF RIGHTS AND AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY. HE DECLARED HIS HOPE THAT WHITE RHODESIANS WOULD STAY AND CONTRIBUTE AS ORDINARY CITIZENS, WITHOUT SPECIAL PRIVILEGES, TO AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. AFTER MUCH DISCUSSION AT THE END OF THE CONSULTATIONS THE GROUP CONCEDED THAT IF AND WHEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT PRODUCED A CONSTITUTION OF PROPOSALS FOR THE CARE-TAKER PERIOD, THE DOCUMENTS WOULD BE "CHAIRMAN'S DOCUMENTS OPEN TO ALL TO ACCEPT OR REJECT, IN TOTAL OR IN DETAIL", BUT NOT DOCUMENTS REPRESENTING A CONSENSUS. UNTIL WE COULD SEE THAT A CONFERENCE WOULD SUCCEED, NO DECISION WOULD BE TAKEN TO HOLD ONE. ON THIS BASIS, MR. NKOMO SAID THE FRONT WOULD GET TO WORK AND PRODUCE THEIR OUTLINE OF A CONSTITUTION. IT WAS LEFT THAT WE WOULD MEET AGAIN TO RECEIVE THIS ABOUT THE END OF JUNE, PERHAPS IN LUSAKA.

10. THE SMITH REGIME. THE GROUP HAD TWO DAYS OF INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH RHODESIAN OFFICIALS IN SALISBURY ON 26 AND 27 MAY, CONCLUDING WITH A MEETING WITH MR. SMITH. THEY ALSO SPENT A DAY RECEIVING DELEGATIONS FROM A VARIETY OF RHODESIAN ORGANIZATIONS, WHITE, AFRICAN AND MULTI-RACIAL: MOST WERE IN FAVOUR OF AN EARLY MOVE TO MAJORITY RULE ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE

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AND WE WERE IMPRESSED BY THE ANXIETY THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE PRESSED FORWARD AND BROUGHT TO AN EARLY CONCLUSION.

11. THE REGIME CLEARLY WANTS A SETTLEMENT. THEY ARE UNDER VARIOUS PRESSURES:

(A) MR. SMITH'S ACCEPTANCE IN SEPTEMBER 1976 OF MAJORITY RULE IN TWO YEARS, WAS A WATERSHED FOR WHITE RHODESIAN OPINION. MANY NOW ACCEPT GOVERNMENT BY THE AFRICANS AS INEVITABLE AND BELIEVE THAT IF IT IS TO BE ACHIEVED ON A BASIS OF CO-OPERATION, THE SOONER IT COMES THE BETTER;

(B) THE FIGHTING PLACES A CONSIDERABLE STRAIN ON THE ECONOMY BY REASON OF THE CALL-UP OF RESERVISTS;

(C) THERE IS A TRICKLE OF WHITE OFFICIALS AND OTHERS LEAVING RHODESIA AND IF THERE IS SEEN TO BE NO HOPE, THIS COULD INCREASE AND SERIOUSLY AFFECT THE REGIME'S ABILITY TO CONTINUE.

NEVERTHELESS MR. SMITH IS NOT AT THE END OF THE ROAD YET AND IS NOT PREPARED FOR UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER (A "SELL-OUT"). HE DEMANDS SAFEGUARDS FOR THE WHITE RHODESIANS SUFFICIENT TO WIN THEIR CONFIDENCE IN THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS AND TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO REMAIN IN RHODESIA. THESE SAFEGUARDS SHOULD, IN MR. SMITH'S VIEW, INCLUDE:

(A) A QUALIFIED FRANCHISE TO ENSURE STABILITY AND A SIGNIFICANT "RESPONSIBLE" VOICE IN THE PARLIAMENT. (HIS OFFICIALS SPOKE OF EDUCATIONAL AND PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS WHICH WOULD PRODUCE AN AFRICAN ELECTORATE OF SOME 500,000, ADMITTEDLY A SUBSTANTIALLY LARGER FIGURE THAN THE WHITE ELECTORATE, BUT ONLY 20 PERCENT OF THE ADULT POPULATION);

(B) A SURE BLOCKING MECHANISM (A "BLOCKING THIRD") IN THE HANDS OF THE WHITES ACHIEVED BY MEANS OF A SEPARATE ROLL TO PREVENT AMENDMENT OF THE ENTRENCHED CLAUSES OF THE CONSTITUTION;

(C) MEASURES TO GUARANTEE THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW
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AND ORDER, I.E. THE CONTINUANCE OF THE PRESENT SECURITY AND POLICE FORCES OF THE REGIME UNCHANGED, AND THE DISBANDMENT OF THE GUERRILLA FORCES; AND

(D) GUARANTEES TO COVER THE CONTINUED PAYMENT OF PENSIONS TO THOSE WHO HAVE EARNED THEM AND THE RIGHT TO TRANSFER CAPITAL FOR THOSE WHO SELL FARMS OR BUSINESSES. FOR OUR PART WE TOLD MR. SMITH THAT IT WAS TOO LATE TO BE LOOKING FOR A QUALIFIED FRANCHISE: IT MUST BE UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE OR SOMETHING CLOSE TO IT. WE ALSO EXPLAINED THE DIFFICULTIES OF HIS OTHER DESIDERATA. MR. SMITH CONCEDED IN DISCUSSION THAT HIS FOUR POINTS WERE VARIABLES AND THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE LOOKED AT

AS A WHOLE: IF THE SAFEGUARDS APPEARED ADEQUATE UNDER OTHER HEADS, HE MIGHT BE PREPARED TO RECONSIDER HIS ATTITUDE TO UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE. IT WAS AGREED THAT WE SHOULD CARRY ON OUR CONSULTATIONS IN AN ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE.

12. THE FRONT-LINE STATES. IN EACH COUNTRY WE VISITED WE CALLED ON THE GOVERNMENT CONCERNED. ALL EXPRESSED CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, BUT EXPRESSED SCEPTICISM ABOUT OUR ABILITY TO IMPLEMENT ONE IN THE FACE OF MR. SMITH'S CONTINUED INTRANSIGENCE.

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CONCLUSIONS

13. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE METHOD OF CONSULTATION IS WELCOMED BY ALL, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, AND EVEN THEY APPEAR TO BE WILLING TO CONTINUE CO-OPERATION. THE MAJOR ISSUES LIKELY TO FACE US ARE:

(A) THE FRANCHISE. OUR JUDGMENT IS THAT FOR THE NATIONALISTS THIS HAS BECOME THE TOUCHSTONE AND THAT ONLY UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE WILL BE ACCEPTABLE. THE VOTING AGE IS STILL FOR DISCUSSION, THE AFRICANS FAVOURING 18 AND MR. SMITH 21.

(B) LAW AND ORDER. THE INCORPORATION OF SOME GUERRILLA FORCES WILL BE ESSENTIAL, IF THE NATIONALISTS ARE TO BE BROUGHT EVEN TO CONSIDER THE ARRANGEMENTS; BUT IF THE CARETAKER GOVERNMENT IS TO BE ABLE TO EXERCISE

ITS AUTHORITY, LET ALONE IF THE ARRANGEMENTS ARE TO BE
ACCEPTABLE TO THE WHITE RHODESIANS, THE BULK OF THE
PRESENT RHODESIAN POLICE FORCE AND, PREFERABLY, OF THE
PRESENT RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES, WILL HAVE TO BE CONTINUED
UNDER NEW COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WILL BRING BOTH
ELEMENTS UNDER ITS CONTROL. THE SENIOR COMMANDERS OF THE
EXISTING REGULAR FORCES WILL HAVE TO BE REPLACED, PRO-
BABLY BY PROMOTION FROM WITHIN THEIR OWN RANKS IF THE
NATIONALISTS CAN BE BROUQHT TO ACCEPT THAT. IT MAY WELL
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BE THAT AN INTERNATIONAL STAFF WILL BE NECESSARY TO MAKE
THESE ARRANGEMENTS FUNCTION. IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT
MANYOF THE GUERRILLAS WILL WISH TO RETURN TO CIVILIAN
LIFE: A FEW OTHERS MAY ACCEPT TRAINING ABROAD. THE
SELOUS SCOUTS AND THE SPECIAL BRANCH WILL HAVE ALSO TO
GO, BUT THE REGIME HAVE THIS IN MIND AND WOULD PROBABLY
TAKE CARE OF THEIR POSITION IN ADVANCE OF ANY HAND-OVER.
FURTHER DETAILED STUDY OF ALL THE POSSIBILITIES IS
REQUIRED.

(C) FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS. THE NATIONALISTS ALL
SHOWED INSTINCTIVE AVERSION TO PAYING PENSIONS OR MEETING
FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS ARISING OUT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF
PRECEDING RHODESIAN ADMINISTRATIONS. THIS MAY ONLY BE
THE FIRST, IRRATIONAL' REACTION IN THE CASE OF THE UANC;
BUT AT LEAST IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE MAY HAVE TO BE
ARRANGEMENTS TO EXCLUDE FROM PENSION RIGHTS THE PROTA-
GONISTS IN THE ILLEGAL REGIME, INCLUDING, PROBABLY,
CERTAIN SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS AND THE COMMANDERS OF THE
ARMED FORCES AND POLICE.

(D) THE INDEMNIFICATION (PARDONING) OF SERVANTS
OF THE ILLEGAL REGIME FOR ACTS COMMITTED UNDER ITS
ORDERS, WAS OBJECTIONABLE TO MR. MUGABE. THIS, WE
BELIEVE, IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF ANY AGREEMENT.

(E) THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND. THE PATRIOTIC
FRONT OBJECTED TO HAVING THEIR HANDS TIED IN THE USE OF
ANY AID OF THIS KIND. THIS MAY BE A MISUNDERSTANDING.
THE WHITES SEE IN THE FUND A GUARANTEE OF, AT THE LEAST,
THE TRANSFERABILITY OF THEIR CAPITAL, ON TERMS TO BE
SETTLED. IF THIS PROVES DIFFICULT FOR THE DONORS TO
STOMACH, IT IS FOR CONSIDERATION WHETHER BILATERAL AID
FUNDS COULD BE USED.

RECOMMENDATIONS

14. THE MAXIMUM POSITION WHICH EITHER PARTY APPEARS
PREPARED TO TAKE AT THIS STAGE STILL LEAVES A GAP
BETWEEN THEM. THE INFLUENCE OF THIRD PARTIES, PARTICU-
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LARLY SOUTH AFRICA AND NIGERIA, CAN HELP CLOSE THIS GAP.
THEREFORE WE SHOULD CONSIDER AT AN EARLY DATE SPECIAL
BRIEFINGS FOR EACH OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. THERE IS SOME
SENSITIVITY AMONG NATIONALISTS ABOUT BRINGING IN OUT-
SIDERS AND PROBABLY WITH THE SMITH REGIME, ABOUT CONTACTS
WITH SOUTH AFRICA. NEVERTHELESS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY
OF EXCHANGING INFORMATION WITH THE TWO WOULD BE BY A
PERSONAL VISIT FROM THE GROUP. WE SHOULD THEREFORE CON-
SIDER RETURNING TO AFRICA VIA LAGOS IN ADVANCE OF THE
OAU MEETING ON 25 JUNE, AND EARLY CONSULTATIONS IN
PRETORIA WITH THE SAG.

15. IN PRACTICAL TERMS, THE METHOD OF BILATERAL MEETINGS
IS STILL THE BEST IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. IT IS HOWEVER
PAINFULLY SLOW AND IT CARRIES WITH IT THE RISK THAT WE
MAY GET TOO FAR AHEAD WITH ONE GROUP AND THEREBY CREATE
SUSPICION (THOUGH UP TO A POINT PROGRESS WITH ONE GROUP
EXERTS SOME PRESSURE ON THE OTHERS TO COME ALONG). IN
GENERAL IT IS AN UNECONOMIC PROCEDURE AND, IF WE CAN, WE
MUST AIM TO ESTABLISH THAT THE GROUPS COME TO US, RATHER
THAN WE TO THEM.

16. IMMEDIATELY, WE NEED TO STUDY AMONG OURSELVES AND
REACH DECISIONS ON VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES RELATING TO:

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- (A) MECHANISMS FOR ENTRENCHMENT AND EUROPEAN REPRESENTATION;
- (B) THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND;
- (C) THE PENSIONS QUESTION;
- (D) THE PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATING OR DISBANDING THE ARMED FORCES.

17. TO SUM UP, THE FIRST ROUND OF TALKS HAS DEMONSTRATED THAT OUR METHOD OF OPERATION IS SUPPORTED BY MANY OF THE NATIONALISTS, THE FRONT-LINE GOVERNMENTS, AND THE SMITH REGIME. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS LEAST ENTHUSIASTIC BUT WILLING TO COOPERATE. INTEREST IN THE INITIATIVE BY NATIONALISTS, OFFICIALS AND THE PUBLIC HAS BEEN ENGAGED AND SOME MOMENTUM HAS BEEN PRODUCED. WE BELIEVE IT IS WORTH PRESSING AHEAD VIGOROUSLY SO AS TO BUILD ON THIS BASE. HOWEVER, WE ARE PROBABLY AT THE STAGE WHEN WE SHOULD BEGIN TO PRODUCE DRAFT CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE UANC AND THE SMITH REGIME; BUT IT MIGHT BE DANGEROUS TO FLOAT THESE UNTIL WE HAVE RECEIVED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S PROPOSALS. THIS INDICATES A START IN THE NEXT STAGE TOWARDS THE END OF THE MONTH. BUT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO CALL ON THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT BEFORE THE OAU MEETING IN GABON ON JUNE 25. THE INTERVAL AFTER THAT AND BEFORE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT

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DELIVERS ITS DRAFT COULD BE FILLED BY A VISIT TO PRETORIA TO BRIEF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THERE-AFTER LUSAKA SHOULD BE USED AS A GENERAL BASE. THE NEXT VISIT TO SALISBURY SHOULD TAKE PLACE AFTER WE HAVE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S PROPOSALS.

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